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THE USELESS LEAGUE

BY AN EYE WITNESS, GEORGES LECHARTIER

IF we leave aside the conferences—of a special and technical interest—in Brussels, we find that the League of Nations had two momentous experiences, one which took the well intentioned and vagrant Council of the League from Paris to London and back to Paris, then after a short trip to Rome, back to London, and finally, after a delightful week spent in the picturesque and fashionable San Sebastien, back to Paris again. The second experience was the first session of the League itself, which held the assizes in Geneva from the fifteenth of November to December 18, 1920.

Let us now open the record of both sessions. And let us allow the facts to speak for themselves.

During its first and wandering experience, the Council of the League had four objectives to attain: I) The organization of the League; II) Political duties of the League; III) Action of the League in the general interests of humanity; IV) Help given by the League to Associations for the development of international coöperation. Of these four objectives the most important was, of course, the political one, since it had to deal with the determination of cities, regions and peoples. There the Council would show what it meant and what its might really was. The second objective was indeed the touchstone of the League. It included in its first and urgent work: 1) the determination of the Free City of Danzig; 2) the question of the Saar Basin; 3) the determination of the circles of Eupen and Malmedy; 4) the protection of Armenia; 5) the protection of the minorities in the Ottoman Empire; 6) the protection of the minorities in Poland, Austria and Bulgaria; 7) the reciprocal emigration of minorities in Greece and in Bulgaria; 8) the appeal of Persia to the League; 9) the dispute between Sweden and Finland concerning the Aland Islands; 10) the dispute between Poland

and Lithuania; 11) the appeal of the king of Hedjaz to the League; 12) the Commission of Inquiry to Russia; 13) the International Financial Conference.

Of all those important questions the Council is so eager to obtain a satisfactory and decisive solution that it begins as soon as its second session is opened in London. The official record shows us that, between the eleventh and the thirteenth of February 1920, the Council proceeds to the appointment of the Governing Commission of the territory of the Saar and to the appointment of a High Commissioner of the League of Nations at Danzig. And then, after such a mighty effort, it rests until the 12th of March when, having reconvened in Paris, it settles down to deal with such urgent business as the protection of minorities in Turkey, and the possible appointment of a commission of inquiry into the conditions then prevailing in Russia. The Council goes so far as "to decide to ask the Government of Soviets whether they were prepared to give to the proposed commission of inquiry the necessary facilities for their work": but, evidently satisfied that they are agreed on such a vital point, they postpone the asking.

In the same overloaded session the Council, conscious of its responsibilities and resolutely neglecting the appeal of nature to obey the order of duty, adopts a resolution asking the International Health Conference "to submit to it, towards the end of April, plans of united official action for the protection of Poland and of other countries lying to the west of Russia from the epidemic of typhus." Then, of course, it breathes: it adjourns.

During its fourth session, the Council listens to the request of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg and of the Republic of Latvia for admission to the League. Then somebody speaks about the registration of Treaties. All at once the Council, "interpreting in the widest practicable manner the obligations of Article XVIII of the Covenant in this connection" (Document 37 of the Assembly), authorizes the Secretariat "to register all treaties, engagements or acts establishing obligations between states, whether concluded before or after the Covenant": and it expresses the hope that "even treaties concluded between parties neither of which is a member of the League will be voluntarily

presented for registration." A member of the Council rises to insist on the wide scope of the authorization given which is to ensure publicity for international engagements so as to provide in future for a system of open diplomacy, "according to the very spirit of the League." This high achievement being obtained, the Council indulges in some conversations about financial matters concerning the League, authorization to be given to organize at Danzig the elections for the Constituent Assembly, protection of Armenia, again the protection of minorities in Turkey, the repatriation of war prisoners. At the closing, a member, yielding suddenly to a generous inspiration, proposes to send a message of sympathy from the Council to the national Associations in support of the League. The Chairman of the Council, after consultation with the members, praises the said member for his motion, well worthy of the Council, and proposes the adoption of the motion. The motion is unanimously adopted. The Council feels gratified and adjourns.

The Council has been until now so busy with the affairs of the world that it has somewhat forgotten to settle its own rules and internal administration. So, when it reconvenes for its fifth session, during the lovely month of May in Rome, it resolves to take up first the most urgent. It considers some rules of procedure for itself; it examines a plan of budget for the League and of allocations of expenses between members of the League. It argues about the convenings of the Assembly, speaks of the staff of the Secretariat, then concentrates its attention on the big questions. It proceeds to nominate a permanent armament committee, under Article IX of the Covenant, "to advise the Council on the execution of Articles I and VIII and on military, naval and air questions generally." It elects members for an International Statistical Committee, and settles the relations that will exist in the future between the Council and the Assembly on one hand and the Permanent Technical Organization of the League on the other. It decides, in principle, that the League should coöperate in the repression of the traffic in women and children. It gives some consideration to a protest concerning the status of the Saar officials in the administration of the Saar Basin. It becomes interested in the question of the circles of

Eupen and Malmedy and listens to the reading of a protest of Germany concerning the said regions. It has good words for the Armenians. With much satisfaction it learns that the Soviet Government, in a wireless message in date of May 10, has agreed in principle to the admission into Russia of a delegation of the League but has alleged that "it could not, for military reasons, admit, at that time, any delegation among the members of which there were representatives of nations actively supporting Poland or the Ukraine." It feels inclined at first to defer to what seems to be a legitimate demand. But coming to think more of it, it realizes that all the nations represented in the Council are, more or less actively, supporting either Poland or the Ukraine. It decides accordingly to postpone the appointment of the Commission of Inquiry to Russia. It adopts by unanimous vote the principle of the preparation of an International Finance Conference. Then it gives consideration to a report of the Health Conference which recommends that "the Council of the League should appoint an Executive Commission to work in coöperation with the Polish authorities and the Countries likely to possess surplus materials, and the League of Red Cross Societies to fight efficiently the typhus in Poland." Acting on these recommendations, the Council appoints two Commissioners. Moreover, the Secretary General is authorized to make any nomination which might be necessary to complete the Executive Committee. And the Council adjourns.

During its sixth session in June at London (short because of the heat) the Council examines once more the question of the convening of the Assembly but still makes no decision. It considers arrangements for the appointment of the members for the International Committee of Jurists, is astonished at the great number of the candidates who judge themselves fit for such appointment, and makes no decision. It listens to an appeal of Persia to the League, decides nothing and wants to see the affair of the Commission of Inquiry to Russia through. But . . . it learns that, in a further telegram despatched from Moscow, on May 25, Mr. Tchitcherin has accused the League of having allowed full liberty to one of its members, namely Poland, to attack Russia in the Ukraine. He further has drawn attention

to the attitude of other members of the League who were assisting Poland by sending war material and military instructors. His message (which has been incompletely transmitted) has concluded, as far as could be ascertained, that, for reasons of national security, it was impossible for the Government of the Soviets to send a favorable answer to the request of the Council. The question being thus presented, the Council of the League suspects and finally decides that the communication of Mr. Tchitcherin amounts to a refusal, on the part of the Soviet Government, to receive the Commission of Inquiry, and that the project is to be abandoned. To get some comfort, the Council listens to an interesting report on the repatriation of war prisoners, and adjourns.

The seventh session takes place again in London during the very hot days of mid-July. Again the Council debates about the convening of the Assembly, but no decision is reached. A report is read on the expenses of the High Court of Justice of the territory of the Saar. The question of the Aland Islands is for the first time called for. It is obvious that the Council cannot at first sight express a solid opinion on the rights of Sweden or Denmark on the islands and must know more before considering whether the insulars should or should not have a right in themselves. It proposes therefore to nominate a commission which should make an enquiry and produce a report on the islands and the dispute concerning the said islands. This proposition being favorably received, the Council turns to the preparations for the International Conference and is anew interested in the campaign against typhus in Poland. It is informed that, after an investigation made on the spot by Dr. Norman White, the League Commissioners have drafted a plan of coöperation, as instructed, with the Polish Ministry of Health and with the Red Cross Societies. The London Conference has endorsed the idea and agreed that the campaign would have to be financed by the Governments or by the Council, and not by the Red Cross Societies, whose means were limited.

Mr. Balfour appeals thereupon to the Governments of France, Italy, Japan, Spain and the Netherlands. France replies that she will contribute on the same conditions as Great Britain.

Italy, Japan, Spain and the Netherlands delay their answer. The Council adjourns.

The eighth session takes place from July 30 to August 5 in the picturesque little town of San Sebastien, notorious all over the world for its bull-fights, attractive scenery and lovely climate. The Council gets quickly through with the internal questions: finance of the League, approval of the second budget, relations between the Council and the Assembly, acceptance of new responsibilities by the League, report of the committee of jurists at the Hague, preliminary measures necessary to give effect to Article XVI of the Covenant, eventual transfer of the Secretariat to Geneva, passports for Officials of the League, Staff of the Secretariat, etc. It takes some interest in the report on the Permanent Armaments Commission which holds meetings at the same time. The Commission had been asked to advise the Council on the use of poisonous gas in warfare. At the question the prudent Commission answers that "the use of gas is a fundamentally cruel method of carrying on war, but that it would be useless to seek to restrict the use of gas in war by prohibiting or limiting its manufacture in peace time, or to prohibit laboratory experiments." On questions concerning the military, naval and air conditions to be accepted by states seeking admission to the League; the control of the traffic in arms and munitions; the constitution and composition of the organization to be placed at the disposal of the League for the exercise of the right of investigation to be conducted under Article 213 of the Treaty of Versailles and some other articles of some other treaties . . . the Commission gives no answer whatever. But on the question which deals with "the preliminary inquiries to serve as a basis for proposals for the execution of Article VIII of the Covenant," the Commission informs the Council that it has decided "to examine the practical methods for obtaining rapidly, when the Council should decide to do so, all necessary information regarding the mentioned question." The Council notes this declaration and asks that it might at once be informed when the Commission desires to report any further progress (official Record of the Council).

The Council hears some further reports, including: an opinion

on the question of the Aland islands; on the appeal of the King of Hedjaz to the League; on the preparations for the international financial conference; then again, and with an unshakable good will, on the campaign against typhus in Poland.

On that question, the Council is informed with sorrow that neither Italy, Japan, Spain nor the Netherlands had so far made any answer to the proposal of Mr. Balfour, but the commissioner, having resigned his post in the absence of the funds necessary to start the campaign, Mr. Balfour promises to undertake to make a further appeal. And the Council adjourns.

The ninth session of the Council, which took place in Paris (September 16 to 20) was particularly inspiring and efficient. Not only was the preceding work of the Council revised but some real and definitive business was accomplished. The questions considered were:

(a) The finances of the League: a very satisfactory report was read by Mr. Quinones de Leon (Spanish), and approved by the Council unanimously.

(b) The contracts about the establishment of the League at Geneva were read and approved.

(c) So was the report on the passports for officials of the League.

(d) His Excellency Mr. Caclamanos read a report which dealt with the position of the commissioners of the League in the Saar region and declared "The position of the officials, which had, during the month of April, dominated the whole political life of the territory, has been provisionally solved; this constitutes an undeniable success for the Governing Commission." In the same report, His Excellency had the regret to announce the resignation of Mr. de Boch giving the reason for his decision that "his position had become untenable and that he was unable to accept responsibility, in view of the attitude of the population." Dr. Hector, ex-mayor of Saarlouis was then proposed as a successor to the late member. The chairman assumed that he might suggest that the Council was much gratified by the clear *exposé* of the honorable member; he presented the thanks of the Council to the member; he had no doubt that the Council had heard with deep concern of the resignation of the High Commis-

sioner and that it would ratify gladly the appointment of Dr. Hector as his successor.

This affair being thus satisfactorily settled, the Council was ready to hear the report of His Excellency Mr. Castao da Cunha, representative of Brazil, on the circles of Eupen and Malmedy. After hearing the report the Council declared itself in favor of the transfer of the circles of Eupen and Malmedy to the sovereignty of Belgium.

A report was read by the French Representative on the Greco-Bulgarian intermigration treaty: and two commissioners were appointed to inquire. A report was read by the British Representative on the Aland islands question, who announced, at the request of Denmark, that whatever the final decision of the League on the question might be, it must be admitted that this decision would have no binding effect on Denmark if, by misfortune, it were to oppose the views and best interests of Denmark.

Earnestly considering the Danish motion, the Council decided that it was wholly legitimate, declared that the Council had never any intention to assume any power but consultative, and that its final decision should be taken only as recommendations but in no way binding on Denmark, and proceeded to nominate two Commissioners to study on the spot the real feeling of the insulars of the Aland islands and report to the League.

Then was read the report of the representative of Belgium on the dispute between Poland and Lithuania. And, as soon as the reader was through, occurred the most dramatic and inspiring event of the nine sessions of the Council. But here all comments are needless: let the official record speak.

The representative of Belgium had just concluded his report, when the representative of Lithuania rose and emphatically declared:

Mr. President, kindly allow me, in the name of my Government, to express the most hearty thanks to the League of Nations for the eager interest it has given to the settlement of the dispute between Poland and Lithuania.

At the very moment when the difference was laid before you, war seemed unavoidable. Now, after your pressing exhortations, I carry away with me the strong hope that the Government of Poland and mine will avoid all hostile demonstrations, waiting for the enforcement of the present rule. I can assure you that my Government will spare nothing to attain that end. . . .

I should fail in my duty if I did not address myself to the reporter (*sic*), and say that the whole nation of Lithuania, who desires peace, will consider as a good omen that the representative of heroic Belgium has been the reporter (*sic*) in her cause; for Lithuania, too, has written in the first international treaty which she has concluded, after her revival, to a new and free life, her aspiration to a lasting neutrality.

As soon as Mr. Voldemar had finished, the illustrious representative of Poland, Mr. Paderewski, rose and vehemently said:

You will certainly allow me, gentlemen, to associate myself with the words that have just been spoken by my colleague—I do not say my opponent—for the conflict exists no more, I hope.

I ask your leave to say immediately a few words of a rather explanatory interest.

Amongst the fine and noble tasks which the League of Nations has imposed upon itself, the task of giving to the small nations the security against the aggression of the powerful States is one of the finest and noblest. Poland may be too small for a big State, but she is much too big for a small nation.

Her case is peculiar. Because of events to be regretted, she came into conflict with Lithuania, a sister nation. Then Poland has considered her duty not only to avoid war but to give a good example. Therefore the Polish Government has decided to apply to the League of Nations to solicit its interference and arbitration. She is gratified and happy to-day to ascertain that you have so gracefully acquiesced to her demand and that you proposed to her such a quick and equitable settlement. . . .

The President of the Council, Mr. Leon Bourgeois, replied, in part:

I trust that the remembrance of these two resolutions just taken, the first one with the collaboration and in the presence of the representatives of Sweden and Finland, the second with the collaboration and in the presence of the representatives of Poland and Lithuania, will show clearly to the public opinion the increasing moral authority of the Council of the League of Nations and how it becomes quite possible to surmise that in the future this authority will become daily stronger, more important, more useful for each of the countries which come to us and for humanity itself [cheers].

What a fine scenario for a drama! The scenery? The opulent, severe, solemn, official hall of the Petit Luxembourg. The cast? All stars of statesmanship, all men of large reputation, the political conscience of the world in frock coats! Did we say drama? No! It is History, History standing and watching for the greater lessons to be taught to Mankind!

Unfortunately, History, just as Humanity itself, sometimes goes astray. Too often the farce follows the drama, when it does not go cheek by jowl with it.

Exactly four days after the resolution had been adopted, after the mutual congratulations had been exchanged and the comforting assurances of self sacrifice and public usefulness declared by the delegates, just when the Council was ready to leave for Brussels and pursue its noble task relative to the financial destinies of the League, the following despatches from Warsaw and Kovno reached Paris and were published by the press:

Warsaw, September 25, 1920.

The representatives of Lithuania have refused to order the evacuation by the Lithuanian troops of the territories they unlawfully occupy. The minister of foreign affairs in Poland, Prince Sapieha, has just wired to his colleague in Lithuania. Mr. Purick is drawing the attention of the Government of Kovno to the aggressive attitude of the Lithuanian troops which repeatedly attack the Polish patrols. The fact that, against the engagements taken before the Council of the League of Nations, the Lithuanian army covers the concentration of the Bolshevik forces, obliges the high commandment of Poland to take all measures dictated by the strategic situation to assure the security of its army.

Kovno, September 25.

The chargé d'affaires of Lithuania, considering the aggressive attitude of the Polish troops, which constitutes a break of the engagements taken at the session of the Council of the League of Nations, sees himself, in spite of his earnest desire to avoid a grave conflict, in the obligation of taking all measures dictated by the actual situation to protect the Lithuanian army and the Lithuanian territory.

Shall we say now that, after this ruthless denial given by the facts and events to the announcements, assurances, and hopes of the Council of the League, shall we say that the Council loses somewhat of its dignity and prestige? Shall we suggest that the ninth session in Paris appears no more to be impregnated with the solemnity and the high encouragement which had been noticed at first account? Shall we intimate at last that, after this striking experience of eight months, the noble Council hardly calls before us the perfect image of a Society intrusted by the world to settle amicably its affairs and differences, but that it reminds us of some good-natured and good-willed men ap-

pointed by themselves and a few others to achieve a work that is altogether much beyond their capacities and powers? Shall we timidly and in connection with these nine meetings of the Council speak of some extended Pickwick Club? No.

The tenth, chiefly financial, meeting of the Council takes place in Brussels from October 20 to October 28. Many reports are read. Representatives of all nations in Europe come and tell of the pitiful state of the finances in their respective countries. True to its former attitude, the Council promulgates recommendations, nominates commissions, congratulates reporters, councillors, itself and . . . adjourns.

Of course it must be borne in mind that all the work of these nine months is only preliminary to the great work of the League itself. Let us attend the solemn and historic sessions of the League of Nations, in Geneva. We shall undoubtedly witness some marvelous results accomplished, some grand end attained.

Answering the convocation of President Wilson, the League of Nations convened in its palace at Geneva on the 15th of November, at 11 a. m.

In the big, cold Reformation Hall where the sittings took place, there are no hangings, no decoration whatever. Only the ushers, clad in red and yellow of the city of Geneva, give a clear, pleasant note to the austere walls. As the desks in a schoolroom, some long benches are set in double lines, one behind the other. Between those benches, the various delegates take their places. At the end of the room, in the very place where the reverend preachers deliver their sermons on Sunday, two armchairs are waiting, one for Mr. Motta, President of Switzerland, the other for Mr. Hymans, temporary Chairman of the Assembly.

The delegates and representatives begin to arrive. Mr. Quinones de Leon speaks to Mr. Tittoni. Mr. Branting, delegate from Sweden, converses with Mr. Hanotaux. Mr. Leon Bourgeois, one of the fathers of the League, is well surrounded in a group. Mr. Viviani is alone, and dreams. A band is heard outside. Mr. Hymans, Belgian delegate, comes in. He is preceded by some ushers, clad in red and white, colors of the

canton of Berne. He announces that the session is opened. Mr. Motta is the first speaker.

Mr. Motta greets the Assembly, to which he expresses the gratitude of Switzerland. He greets and congratulates the Council of the League and praises its work. He sends greetings to President Wilson and expresses his faith that the League will work for the peace, general welfare and happiness of mankind. Mr. Motta bows with respect and gratitude to the noble men who "helped the noble idea to descend from the regions of dreams to those of living reality."

It seemed likely to members of the League, and to the numerous representatives of the press and the public, that the Assembly would do real business at the second sitting on the afternoon of the same day.

There is discussion about provisional, internal rules and by-laws. And all at once everybody has something to say. When time has passed and order is restored, the President reads the agenda and proposes "that some four of the questions on this agenda, which have been already examined by the Council and sent back by it to the League of Nations, and some new questions proposed by Government members of the League, should be, because of the important work ahead of the Assembly, divided amongst six committees, it being understood that all the states are entitled to be represented on every one of those committees."

The end of this second sitting is entirely devoted to explanations, and to delimitations of each of the six committees, and then to the questioning, answering, objecting, or simply talking of every and all members of the League, each and all appearing to have an idea of his own on every detail and on the ensemble of the question, and being firmly resolute not to keep a single word of it to himself.

At last the proposition of nominating six committees is adopted. And immediately Mr. Tittoni proposes to name a seventh Committee to help the other six to get through with their work. Some other suggestions on the attributions of the committees are made and objected to. Finally, the President proposes that the elected commissions name their board, and then, "considering that it is late and everybody is tired, asks if

every member agrees on the idea that the Assembly separate now and meet again tomorrow" which is agreed to. And so ends the second sitting.

It might be waste of time to follow step by step, sitting after sitting, the next meetings of the Assembly. We see that the third and fourth gives occasion only to pursue discussion and talk about the constitution of the committees until, during the course of the fifth meeting, the immense work of the League being as much advanced as at the first, Mr. Tittoni, and after him Mr. Viviani, emphasize the necessity and urgency for the Assembly to hurry to work and to adopt a sensible and efficient method of working.

The sixth meeting is almost entirely devoted to the hearing of the report of Mr. Nansen on his work, undertaken in connection with the repatriation of prisoners of war from the various parts of Europe and Russia.

At the opening of the seventh meeting a telegram from President Wilson congratulating the Assembly on their work is read. Then the Assembly proceeds with the discussion of the report of the work of the Council, which discussion continues during the eighth meeting.

We may be excused if we insist on the real importance of the ninth meeting, as, at some moments, it seemed that a decisive step would be taken and efficient work accomplished. This meeting was given to the discussion of the proposition of Lord Robert Cecil concerning Armenia. Of course nobody paid much or any attention to a preliminary statement of Dr. Spalaikovitch (Serbo-Croate) reminding the Assembly that from their first convening to the present day, they had discussed many things but passed only two resolutions, chiefly of a sentimental nature: one to address a telegram to President Wilson, the second to place a wreath at the foot of the statue of Jean Jacques Rousseau. The interest of his address began for the Assembly, when he spoke of Armenia, which during the time the Assembly was arguing, was slowly dying. The interest, thus raised, was carried to a pinnacle when first Mr. Balfour, then Mr. Viviani, speaking on the distress of Armenia, almost brought tears in the eyes of every member of the League.

Shall we still follow day by day the meetings of the Assembly? Will it still appear useful to analyze the addresses, to listen to the praises by the members of the Assembly of the works either of the Council of the League or of the League itself?

Or shall we offer some serious reflections on the following passages of the letter of Mr. Puyrreydon, head of the Argentine delegation to the President of the League, when he decided to quit:

The Members of this Assembly will separate in a few days without having discussed the great constitutional questions which would have offered the best guarantees to public opinion of the breadth of view and organic vigor of the League. It was especially towards these points that the eyes of Governments and men were directed, and it was on their solution that the highest hopes were founded.

The chief aim of the Argentine Government in sending the Delegation, of which I have the honor to be Head, was to coöperate in the work of drawing up the Charter by means of Amendments to the Covenant, in which we hoped that it would be possible to embody the ideals and principles which Argentina has always upheld in international affairs, and from which she will never deviate.

When once this aim has disappeared, owing to the postponement of the Amendments, to delays and waste of time, the moment has arrived for Argentina's coöperation in the work to cease.

For the above reasons, and in accordance with the instructions received from my Government, I have the honor to inform the President, and through him the Assembly, that the Argentine Delegation considers its mission at an end.

Postponements, delays, waste of time: is not that an admirable formula? And where is to be found a more adequate one to define the work of the League?

The day after the closing of the Assembly, one of the most prominent publicists of France, certainly the greatest authority on international matters and one who had at first strongly supported the League of Nations when it came on the *George Washington* on the 15th of December, 1918, with President Wilson, wrote in the *Journal des Débats*:

The plenary Assembly of the League of Nations closed yesterday its first session. Much talk has been going on in Geneva but little work was done. The clearest result which has been obtained is the organization of a formidable bureaucratic machine. The super-state, which a few wished to possess and which others feared to have, does not yet exist. The new Court of Justice, of

which the foundations have been laid, does not seem to differ essentially from the International Court of The Hague. There is no army, no general staff, no police, to enforce the decisions of the League. But there is, under the name of General Secretariat, a *super-bureaucratie*, which, by the number of its members and by the high salaries allowed them, dominates all the existing *bureaucraties* of the world. . . . The League and the Secretariat and the sub-Secretariat of the League are busy buying huge buildings wherein to install themselves. But several States do not pay their dues, and the United States, promoter of the great Work, remains absent. On the other hand, a few States have been admitted to the League which have still neither border nor a settled Government. Prizes of encouragement and of consolation have been bestowed upon them. Yet, as, after the terms of the Covenant, all the members of the League agree to keep their actual borders, what State, what man will come to execute the clause for the benefit of the embryonic States? . . . After the debauch of eloquence in Geneva, it remains to face practically the questions which demand an urgent solution.

What could be added either to the facts or to this comment? In spite of the repeated and not exactly disinterested statements profusely published by the members or the officials or the presidents of the Council of the League, who have every reason to be satisfied with their office, the League, during these twelve months of activity, has proved to be merely a costly, useless, and wholly inefficient machine.

GEORGES LECHARTIER.